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Eastern Indonesia in Austronesian Perspective: The Evidence of Relational Terminologies

L'Indonésie orientale dans une perspective austronésienne : les preuves par la terminologie des liens de parenté

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Eastern Indonesia in Austronesian Perspective: The Evidence of Relational Terminologies

The Historical Delineation of “Eastern Indonesia”

For the better part of two centuries, researchers, relying on different methods, have attempted to distinguish eastern Indonesia within the wider Austronesian archipelago. Alfred Russel Wallace in his *Malay Archipelago* (1869) was much concerned with the differences he claimed to perceive between Malay and Alfuru populations in the eastern archipelago. As a consequence, he drew not one but two distinct lines through eastern Indonesia. The first of these lines, which has become known simply as the ‘Wallace Line’ was labelled the “Division between the Indo-Malayan and the Austro-Malayan Regions”. The second line, which extends much further to the east and separates Sumba, Flores and the Moluccan islands from the rest of the archipelago, represented his “Division between Malayan and Polynesian Races” (See Map in Volume I set between pages 14 and 15).

The next significant attempt to delineate eastern Indonesia was undertaken by the Dutch linguist, J. C. G. Jonker, who served as a language-officer of the Netherlands East Indies government, first in Makassar and then in Kupang from 1885 to 1901, and was eventually appointed, in 1909, as Professor in Leiden. Based on his extensive field research, Jonker produced comparative studies of at least nine different local languages. Although he pointed to critical differences between the languages of eastern and western Indonesia in a major article (Jonker 1914), he was more concerned to describe eastern Indonesian

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languages; he did, however, distinguish a “Bima-Sumba” group of languages from a “Timor-Ambon” group of languages within eastern Indonesia. He set forth his outline of eastern Indonesian languages in a series of comparative analyses in the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsche-Indië* (1917-1921) that became the basis for S. J. Esser’s 1938 linguistic maps in the *Atlas van Tropisch Nederland*.

Among linguists, in 1965, Isodore Dyen, published a lexico-statistical analysis of Austronesian languages in which he distinguished a Hesperonesian subfamily of Malayo-Polynesian whose western boundary fell between Sumbawa, Sumba and Flores in the south, between Sulawesi and Buru to the north and between the Sangir Islands and Halmahera. In an influential anthropological paper that followed on from Dyen’s work, the anthropologist George Peter Murdock (1968:7-8) claimed to find a close correlation between Malayo-Polynesian sibling terms on either side, east and west, of Dyen’s delineation of a Hesperonesian subgroup of languages.

More significantly, in publications from 1974 to 2009, Robert Blust has argued for a Central Malayo-Polynesian (CEMP) subgroup. He originally designated this as “Eastern Austronesian” (Blust 1974) to distinguish this grouping from Western Malayo-Polynesian. In later reformulations, however, he divided CEMP into a Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) and an Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (EMP) subgroup (Blust 1982, 1993). Specifically, the CMP subgroup extends from Bima on eastern Sumbawa to the Aru Islands and from Rote in the south to the Sula Archipelago in the north Maluku. Blust’s methodology is based on a use of the comparative method; his delineation of the islands that comprise his CMP subgroup in eastern Indonesia, however, resembles both Esser’s 1938 *Atlas* and Dyen’s Hesperonesian or “Moluccan” linkage.

A particularly influential delineation of eastern Indonesia was made by the anthropologist F.A.E. van Wouden. In his 1935 Leiden dissertation, *Sociale Structuurtypen in de Groote Oost*, van Wouden proposed a demarcation of eastern Indonesia (*de Groote Oost*) based on ethnographic criteria of which possession of a “clan system” was primary. His definition of this area is as follows:

“The area covered by this investigation extends over the whole of the south-east of Indonesia: it stretches from the Timor Archipelago in the west to the Southeastern Islands in the east, and is bordered to the north by the islands of Seran and Buru. The choice of this area, which takes in such far-separated territories, has not been determined by geographical or other more or less arbitrary factors, but is based upon various points of similarity from an ethnographical point of view. The different societies of these islands are practically all characterized by the possession of clan systems, still fairly intact, coupled with an explicit preference for cross-cousin marriage in its restricted form.” (Wouden, *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia*: 1968:1)

Van Wouden goes on to contrast the societies of this area with those of

Celebes (Sulawesi) and Halmahera, what he calls the “two other large culture areas.” He then qualifies his contrast by explaining that it “applies chiefly to Celebes [whereas] on Halmahera the memory of a former clan system seems still not entirely to have disappeared” (Wouden 1968: 1).

The problematic aspect of his presentation of the region is its implied characterization of all the societies of eastern Indonesia as unilateral (i.e., unilineal). This assumption was further fostered by the application of the Needham model of prescriptive alliance that requires societies with directed alliance systems with cross-cousin marriage to have what Needham called lineal terminological equations (Needham 1973, 1974).

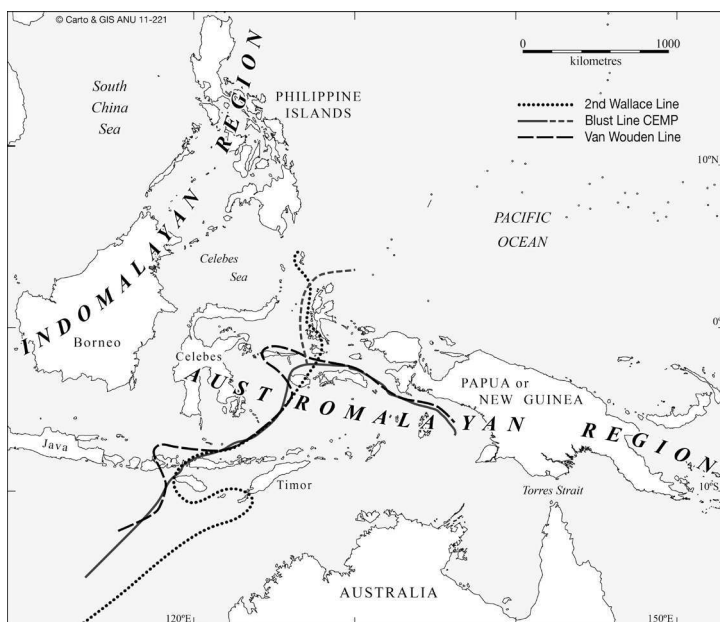
It is apparent from ethnographic research in the region, that various societies in van Wouden’s area of investigation utilize bilateral or partially lineal reckoning and therefore do not have the unilateral clan system that constituted the primary defining criterion of van Wouden’s regional designation. Moreover van Wouden’s designation of a cultural area takes no account of language and thus ignores the presence of the non-Austronesian languages in the northern Moluccas and in the Timor-Alor-Kisar areas.²

Despite the differing methods of these researchers, there is nonetheless a relative coincidence in the demarcation of what may be called ‘eastern Indonesia’: the eastern end of Sumbawa, the islands of Flores eastward, Sumba, Savu and Timor together with some or all of the Moluccan islands. Map I shows Wallace’s 2nd line, the Blust’s linguistic line and the van Wouden ethnological line – all of which purport to divide eastern Indonesia from western Indonesia (Map 1).

In contrast to earlier attempts to delineate eastern Indonesia by a single line of demarcation, it is theoretically more appropriate to view eastern Indonesia from an Austronesian perspective as a complex zone of transition. This is the conclusion of recent linguistic research (Donohue and Grimes 2008) and has, to some extent, been conceded as such by Blust.³ Equally important is

2. Although a majority of languages in eastern Indonesia belong to the Austronesian family of languages, in the north, the islands of Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, Obi and Halmahera have non-Austronesian languages that are classified as belonging to the West Papuan Phylum of languages while further to the south, both the islands of Alor and Pantar have predominantly non-Austronesian languages that are related to other non-Austronesian languages found in central and eastern Timor and on the island of Kisar. All of these languages have been tentatively linked to a separate phylum, the Trans-New Guinea Phylum.

3. Blust recognizes that many of his proposals for defining CMP do not meet the criteria for exclusively shared innovations required by the historical comparative method and has attempted to revise his argument by introducing other considerations. He states: “Many of the lexical and phonological innovations used to assign languages to CMP do not cover the entire set of languages, and so suggest that this grouping arose from an original dialect chain that served as a ‘diffusion corridor’ rather than through a series of ‘clean’ language splits” (Blust 2009: 31). While Blust has characterized the Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia and East Timor as comprising a distinct subgroup within Austronesian, Donohue and Grimes (2008) characterize these languages differently, pointing to the formative influences of early contact



Map 1 – Three lines of demarcation in eastern Indonesia.

to recognize that eastern Indonesia (as well as western Austronesia) is not homogenous. The issue is one of variation across the Austronesian world.

The Focus of this Paper

This paper is concerned with regional variation in terminological relations of consanguinity and affinity: patterns of relationships that underlie the social formation of Austronesian societies. The paper takes Taiwan as its starting point and is inevitably concerned with the whole of the Austronesian language family. It focuses on certain prominent patterns of relationship that differentiate western Austronesia from eastern Austronesia and examines the distribution and transformation of these patterns.

This paper is drawn from a comprehensive monograph, *Regional Variation in Austronesian Terminologies*, which is still in preparation. This monograph is based on a collection (at this stage) of nearly four hundred Austronesian terminologies assigned to a list of some sixty (regional) language groupings – an extension of the list originally proposed by Malcolm Ross (1995) – intended to cover the entire Austronesian language family.

Whereas *Regional Variation* attempts to consider the entire range of relations in Austronesian terminologies, both affinal and consanguineal across

with non-Austronesian languages in this region – a point hinted at by Brandes as early as 1884.

all generations, this paper can only examine a subset of this range of relations: specifically categories of relative age in conjunction with sibling relationships, together with a particular defining affinal configuration – all of which clearly distinguish eastern from western Indonesia.

Although relative age terms (the categories: “elder/younger”) are a prominent feature of Austronesian societies from Taiwan to Tahiti, these terms, though indeed prominent, are not a universal feature of Austronesian relationship terminologies. With this in mind, it is nevertheless possible to identify certain broad patterns in the use of these terms.

Western Austronesia including Taiwan

The languages of Taiwan are the appropriate starting point for an investigation of the Austronesian relationship terminologies because the Taiwanese terminologies are a reservoir of relational patterns that recur in Malayo-Polynesian. Given the language diversity of Taiwan, Blust (1995, 1999) has argued that the Taiwanese languages form nine separate first-order branches of Austronesian. Ross (2009, 2012) has collapsed this proposed categorization into four branches: 1) Puyuma, 2) Rukai, 3) Tsou and 4) what he calls “Nuclear Austronesian” which includes all the remaining Taiwanese languages and is the source from which Malayo-Polynesian derives (table I).

Society	Elder Sibling	Younger Sibling	Sibling/Cousin
PUYUMA			
PUYUMA	iva	iwadi	trus
RUKAI			
RUKAI	taka	aki	---
TSOU			
TSOU	ohaiva	ohaisa	nanatooaisa
NUCLEAR AUSTRONESIAN			
AMIS	kaka	sava	puton
ATAYAL	qabusuyan	sasoi	naqun
TARUKO	gubsulan	umsuwai	nagun/mulawan
BUNUN	masitoxas	masinauba	mantas'an
KA'KANABU	kanovoa	kanalao	turanga
KAVALAN	qaqa	swani	swani a qaqa
SAISIAT	minacini	minaici	minatini

Table I

The ten Austronesian societies of Taiwan cited here all make use of relative age terms: with one term for elder sibling and another term for younger sibling. In this usage, these elder/younger terms do not distinguish gender but refer to both male and female siblings and they combine with another gender neutral term for siblings/cousins. There are few lexical similarities among the terms that make up these terminological sets. However, the pattern of relationship these terms denote is stable among all these terminologies and forms part of a basic bilateral structure that characterizes Taiwanese terminologies.

This pattern can be represented as in figure I [where e = elder sibling of either sex /y = younger sibling of either sex; PSbC: Parents' Siblings' Child = Cousin] (figure I):

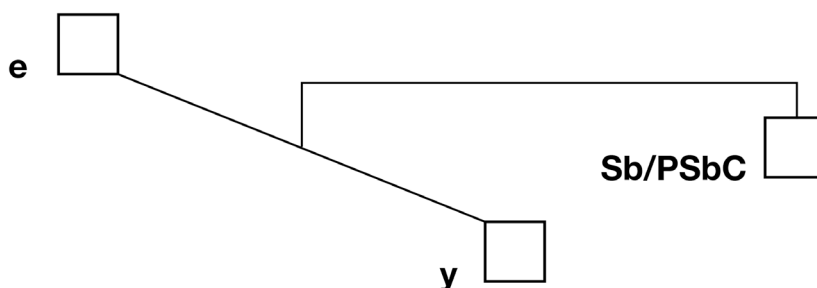


Fig. I – Pattern I,
relative age/sibling cousin configuration.

This same pattern occurs throughout western Austronesia: the Philippines, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, most of Sumatra and the Sunda Islands. It occurs in more than seventy societies (in the present data set) and in virtually all the language groups of western Austronesian. Generally (but not always), these elder/younger sibling categories are accompanied by a general sibling term that may be applied to cousins (and often with the addition of further modifiers can be extended to more distant cousins).⁴

For many of these language groups, there are numerous instances. For this reason, I provide here an abbreviated illustrative list to cover the range of these language groups among western Austronesian languages (table II).

⁴ Madagascar shares this sibling pattern for relative age with western Austronesia but has also elaborated a distinctive set of gendered sibling terms.

Society	Elder Sibling	Younger Sibling	Sibling/Cousin
BATANIC (IVATAN)			
IVATAN	kaka	wari	kakteh/kataysa
YAMI	kaka	wali	kaktu
NORTHERN PHILIPPINES			
ATTA	kaka	urian	wagi/kapittan
BALANGAO	pangolowan	enawdi	apenghan
DUMAGAT	aka	wadi	pensan
ILONGOT	'eka	'agi	katan'agi
MESO-PHILIPPINES			
BUHID	kaka	fuyu	faduasay
CEBUANO	manghud	manghud	igqagaw
PALAWAN	ukaq	ariq	tipusād/ āgsa
TAUSUG	mangulang	manghud	pagtunghud
SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES			
MAGINDANAON	kaka	ali	suled/tenged
MANOBO	kakay	hadi	dumahadi
SUBANUN	gulangbataq	ngudang	pated/tinidegay
SOUTH MINDANAO			
BINUKID	manulang	manghed	suled/igqagaw
BLAAN	twege	twali	flanak
TIRURAY	ofeq	tuwarey	se timan ideng
MINAHASAN			
MINAHASA	kakak	tuari	---
SAMA-BAJAU			
BAJAU	siaka	siali	denakan
YAKAN	saka	sali	danganakan
CENTRAL SULAWESI: BUNGKU-MORI-TOLAKI			
TOLAKI	kaka	hai	kotukombo
TORETE	tukaka	tuai	paekompo/poteha
CENTRAL SULAWESI: KAILI-PAMONA			
DA'A	totuakae	totua'i	sampesuvu
CENTRAL SULAWESI: TOMINI			
AMPIBABO	si a'ang	tuai	lulus
PENDAU	si a'a	si tuai	sampe suvu
TOTOLI	tukka/itaita	tuali	ponguusatan

Table II

Society	Elder Sibling	Younger Sibling	Sibling/Cousin
MUNA-BUTON			
MUNA	isa	ai	kakuta
MORONENE	tukaka	tuai	petila/topisa
WOLIO	aka	andi	tolida
SOUTH SULAWESI			
BUGIS	daéng	anri/andi'	sapposiseng
MAKASSAR	daeng	andi'	sari'battang/sampo sikali
TORAJA	kaka	adi	siulu'/sampu
NORTH/NORTHWEST BORNEO			
BENTIAN	tuke	ani	peyari
PENAN	tuke	tadin	pesak
KENYAH	sekun	sadin	chenganak
LUNDAYEK	rayeh	isuut	kianak
LAND DAYAK (INLAND SOUTHWEST BORNEO)			
DAYAK	umbu	adi	adi tungar
EAST BARITO (SOUTH BORNEO)			
MA'ANYAN	tata'	ani'	tuwari
WEST BARITO			
NGAJU (19 th century)	aka	andi	pahari
UUT DANUM	oka'	ari'	hari
TAMANIC			
MALOH	kaka'	adi'	saparanak
MOKEN AND MOKLEN			
MAKWEN	aka	uai	---
MALAYO-CHAMIC			
CHAM	sa ai	aday	---
IBAN	aka	adi	menyadi
OR. RIMBA	kakok	adik	dulur
JAVA-BALI-LOMBOK			
OLD JAVANESE	raka	rari	sanak
SASAK	kaké	ade	sematon

Table II

This is the primary pattern for relative age and sibling/cousin relations in western Austronesia. Overwhelmingly the terms for relative age reflect the proto-terms, **kaka/aka* for “elder” and **Sua(n)ji* or **hua(n)ji* for younger while the general terms for siblings/cousins are diverse.

There is, however a variation on this primary pattern. Instead of two terms for relative age, this variant pattern relies on three terms: a term for elder brother, another term for elder sister with a third term for younger sibling plus a general sibling/cousin term. This pattern is represented by Figure II :

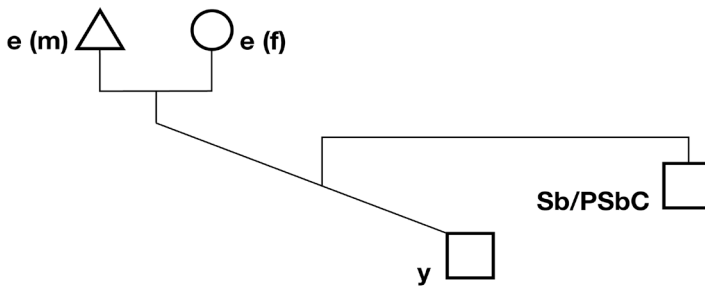


Figure II – Pattern II,
alternative relative age configuration

Table III lists societies that utilize this variant pattern of relative age terms in the western Austronesian world and gives some idea of the relatively circumscribed distribution of this pattern. It includes one instance from Taiwan and from Northern Philippines but is concentrated among Malayo-Chamic languages.

Together these two patterns predominate throughout western Austronesia and as such, provide a striking contrast to relative age + sibling/cousin relations in eastern Indonesia.⁵

5. For purposes of completeness, one must also take into account those societies of western Austronesia who have no relative age terms but only a single term for all siblings and cousins. The Paiwan represent one such society in Taiwan; most other societies with only a single term for sibling cluster in Northwest Borneo and the Northern Philippines. Among these societies are the following:

	SOCIETY	SIBLING/COUSIN
TAIWAN	PAIWAN	kakak
	BUKAT	'arin
NORTH/NORTHWEST BORNEO	KAYAN	harin
	KEREHO UHENG	duarin
	MELANAU	janak
	IFUGAO	agi/iba
NORTHERN PHILIPPINES	KALINGA	sunud
	GA'DANG	kolak

Society	Elder Male/ ElderFemale (>Elder M/FCousin)	Younger Sibling (>Younger Cousin)	Sibling/Cousin
TAIWAN: NUCLEAR AUSTRONESIAN			
PAZEH	ma:mah/ iah	suazi	---
NORTHERN PHILIPPINES			
ITNEG	manang/manong	ading	sonod/kasinsin
MALAYO-CHAMIC			
JARAI	ayong/amai	adöi	---
ACEH	abang/kakak	adoe	
GUMAI	kakak/ayuk	ading	---
LOM	kakak/ayak	adek	sanak pupek
MINANG	tuan/kaka	adiek	dunsanak
SAKAI	upik/ino	adik	---
MALAY	abang/kaka	adi(k)	
SELAKO	abang/kaka'	adi'	gambar kepala
JAVA-BALI-LOMBOK			
JAVA	kakang/mbaqju	adi	naqsanaq
SUNDA	akang/cece	ade	misan/sepupu
BALI	beli/mbok	adin	---

Table III

The majority of instances of societies using this pattern belong to the Malayo-Chamic language group and to languages of Java-Bali-Lombok. Among most of these societies, the **kaka/aka* term is retained for one of the two elder gendered categories as is the **hua(n)ji* for younger. Essentially this pattern involves adding a term at the elder level. Historical records show that Old Javanese relied on the primary two-term relative age pattern (*raka/rari*) but at some time after the 14th or 15th century, adopted the three-term pattern which is in use today (see Fox 1986). Pattern II may well be a Malayo-Chamic innovation that has influenced other neighbouring societies.

There is a strong correlation between Pattern I or Pattern II relative age terms in Ego's generation and bilateral arrangements in the 1st ascending generation. All of the societies from Taiwan through the Philippines, Borneo, most (but not all) of Sumatra, Sulawesi and the Sunda Islands are structurally bilateral or, in an alternative terminology, "cognatic" (see Fox 1994, 2005).

It should be noted that the single term for sibling in several of these societies is one of the relative age terms used in other societies.

The Transformation of Relative Age Categories in Eastern Indonesia

Were one to draw a line through the middle of the island of Sumbawa and continue northward passing to the east of Selayar off the coast of Sulawesi, this line would demarcate an area of eastern Indonesia in which there occur a number of critical transformations in Austronesian terminological configurations. The eastern end of the island of Sumbawa straddles this line of transformation. Bima and Dou Donggo possess a combination of terminological features that look both ways: east and west.

A majority of societies in eastern Indonesia use relative age terms but the use of these terms is dependent on sex-of-speaker. Thus a male-speaker applies these terms to his male siblings and male parallel cousins while a female-speaker applies them to her female siblings and female parallel cousins. The single general term for sibling found in western Austronesian is replaced by either one or two terms that are applied according to gender and sex-of-speaker. The more common variant on this pattern has two terms: a term for brother used by a sister and a term for sister used by a brother.

This pattern can be represented as follows in Figure III:

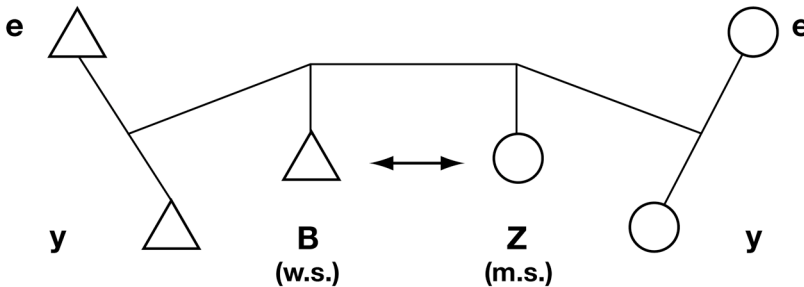


Figure III – Pattern III,
relative age/two term opposite sex sibling/cousins.

The distribution of this pattern is on eastern Sumbawa and the islands further to the east. It includes the Dou Donggo who are a subgroup of the Bimanese population, all of the populations of Flores and the islands to the east as far as Alor together with most of the societies of the island of Timor along with many Moluccan societies. The transformative feature of this configuration is the use of relative age terms based on sex-of-speaker coupled with two terms for opposite sex siblings (brother/sister) and parallel cousins.⁶

6. Various societies in eastern Indonesia exploit the possibilities of the sex-of-speaker/relative

Table IV lists the societies of eastern Indonesia that rely on this configuration:

Society	Sibling/Parallel Cousin Elder/Younger (Same Sex)	Sibling/Parallel Cousin:	
		Brother (w.s)	Sister (m.s.)
		(Opposite Sex)	
BIMA+SAVU			
DOU DONGGO	sa'e/ari	amania	amancava
SAVU	a'a/ari	na'mone	na'weni
DHAO	a'a/ari	ana mone	ana heni
EAST FLORES			
KOMODO	ha/ari	na	?
MANGGARAI	ka'e/ase	nara	weta
RIUNG	ka'é/azé'	nara	weta
RONGGA	ka'e/azhi	nara	weta
CENTRAL FLORES			
ENDE	ka'e/ari	nara	weta
HOGA SARA	kae/azi	nara	weta
KEO	ka'e'/ari	nala	weta
NAGE	ka'e/azi	na	weta
NGGELA	kae/aji	nara	weta
PALUE	ka'e/hari	naja	weda

Table IV – Relative age with two opposite sex terms.

age distinction to define categories of potential alliance. This can be seen as a transformation of an optional use of relative age terms as an intimate form of address between lovers and/or between husband and wife in western Austronesia. For example, in her account of Malay marriage, Janet Carsten (1997:93) writes: “Villagers always state that the correct term of address for wives to use to their husbands is *abang*, older brother; that for husbands to their wives is *adik*, younger sibling.” In this usage, the elder term is used for a male lover or husband and the younger term for a female lover or wife. The reciprocal use of the formalized relative age terms, *kakanda-adinda*, is a standard feature in older forms of traditional Malay poetry. Javanese uses the reciprocal terms *mas* (from *kangmas*) and *dhik* (from *adhik*) as similar intimate address terms for husband and wife (see Robson 1985: 515). In eastern Indonesia, this optional usage becomes a formal feature of some terminologies. In societies where relative age terms are applied between same-sex siblings and parallel cousins, these same relative ages can also be applied to members of the opposite sex. This defines specific cross-cousins as potential marriage partners. Some of the best instances of this usage are for the Tana 'Ai of Flores, the Buru in Maluku and possibly for the Mambai (and other groups) in Timor (Lewis 1988, B. D. Grimes 1993, and Traube 1986).

Society	Sibling/Parallel Cousin Elder/Younger (Same Sex)	Sibling/Parallel Cousin:	
		Brother (w.s)	Sister (m.s.)
		(Opposite Sex)	
CENTRAL EAST FLORES			
TANA AI	wué/wari	nara	wine
EAST FLORES, SOLOR TO ALOR			
BELOGILI	kaka/ariʻ	naʻa	biné
LEWOTALA	kaka/adé	naʻa	binéʻ
KEDANG	aqe/arin	narin	binin
BARNUSA	kakang/aring	nang	bining
TIMOR			
ROTI	kaʻa/fadi	naʻa(k)	feto(k)
HELONG	kaka/pali	blane	bata
ATONI	tataf/olif	nauf	fetof
BEKAʻIS	kaʻan/walin	manek	fetok
MAMBAI	kaka/alin	nara	tbo
ISNI	kaʻan/alin	naran	hatonu
TOKODEDE	kaka/alin	na	moto
CENTRAL MALUKU			
BURU	kai/wai	naha	feta
SOUTHEASTERN ISLANDS			
DAMA	kake/weye	mmuno	vwota ⁷

Table IV – Relative age with two opposite sex terms.

This pattern with separate terms for both brother and sister and opposite sex parallel cousins is not, however, the only terminological pattern in eastern Indonesia. It is logically possible to have a single reciprocal term for the opposite sex sibling. This other pattern variant also occurs in eastern Indonesia. Examples of societies in eastern Indonesia that apply sex-of-speaker to their relative age terms but utilize a single term for the opposite sex sibling, are as follows.

7. The brother/sister/opposite sex parallel cousin terms cited here reflect either: *ñaRa or *ma-Ruqanay for 'brother' and either *bətaw or *binay/b-in-ahi for 'sister.' It is notable that these pairs occur in all possible permutations. Thus *ñaRa occurs with both *bətaw and *bi-in-ahi as does *ma-Ruqanay with each sister term. The *ma-Ruqanay/*bi-in-ahi combination, in the Savu and Dhao examples, is particularly relevant for comparison to terminologies in Oceania since it is the combination that carries out into the Pacific. The proto-form *ma-Ruqanay is generally reconstructed as "male" and *binay/b-in-ahi as "female" at the PMP level. This may reflect evidence of this usage in western Indonesia. It is pertinent that the transformation of these terms from "male"/"female" to one possible set of "brother"/"sister" designations, as shown, takes place in eastern Indonesia.

This pattern can be represented as follows:

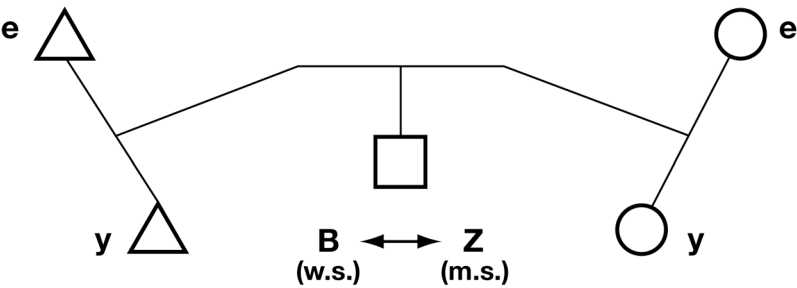


Figure IV – Pattern IV,
relative age/single term opposite sex sibling/cousins.

This configuration occurs less frequently than the first pattern and appears more frequently in the area closer to New Guinea.

Table V lists the societies of eastern Indonesia with this pattern:

Society	Sibling /Parallel Cousin	Sibling/Parallel Cousin
Elder/Younger: Same-Sex		Single Term: Opposite Sex
TIMOR		
NAUETI	kaka/wari	mae
CENTRAL MALUKU		
ALUNE	wali mena/wali muli	beta
SOUTHEAST MALUKU		
KEI	a'an/wari	uran
TANEBAR-EVAV	a'an/wari	uran
SOUTH HALMAHERA/ NEW GUINEA		
IRARUTU	atagfad/agfut	aruig

Table V – Relative age with a single opposite sex sibling term.

Sumba’s Alternative Patterning of Relations in Ego’s Generation without Relative Age

While Patterns III and IV predominate throughout much of eastern Indonesia from the islands of Flores eastward to Timor and to the Moluccan islands as far as the coast of New Guinea, they are not the only Ego-generation patterns that occur in the region.

Sumba is a particularly instructive case because the use of relative age terms among societies on the island is of little significance. Instead Sumba has a patterned set of terminological relations that resemble Pattern III but do so

without the use of relative age.

Pattern III terminologies distinguish between same sex and opposite sex relations in Ego's generation. While relative age terms define relations among members of the same sex, two terms are used to define relations between members of the opposite sex. By contrast, Sumbanese terminologies have two separate terms for members of the same sex; these terms are sex-of-speaker dependent; and these terms are combined with two terms for the opposite sex which are also sex-of-speaker dependent. This Pattern IV is one without relative age terms.

Figure V illustrates this basic pattern of relationships.

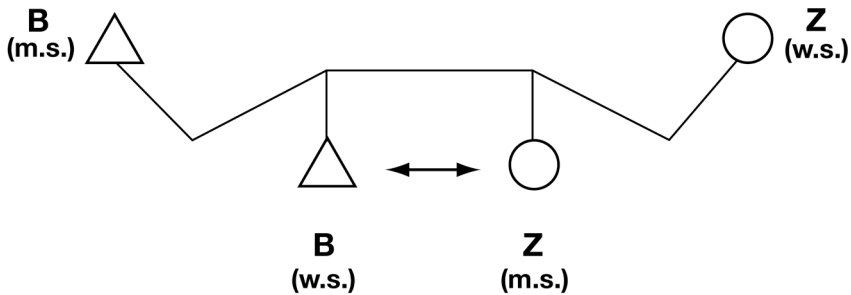


Figure V – Pattern V,
Sumba: same sex/opposite sex without relative age.

Table VI sets out these terminological relations for Sumba moving from east to west across the island:

Group	Sibling/Parallel Cousin (Same-Sex)		Sibling/Parallel Cousin (Opposite Sex)	
	(m.s.)	(w.s.)	(w.s.)	(m.s.)
Kambera	angu paluhu	angu kawini	ana moni	ana wini
Memboro	angu wua	angu kawini	ana moni	ana wini
Wanokaka	angu wua	angu mahawa	ana moni	ana wini
Lauli	angu wua	angu mawine	na'a	woto
Kodi	dungo kambo	angu winye	lamone	lawinye

Table VI – Sumba, same sex/opposite sex sibling/parallel cousin.

In effect, as in the example of Kambera, *angu paluhu* is used by a brother to his brother and parallel cousins; *angu kawini* by a sister to sister and her parallel cousins, while *ana wini* is used by a brother to his sister and parallel cousins and *ana moni* is used by a sister to her brother and parallel cousins.

The expression of relations between members of the opposite sex are like those in Pattern III: for example, Lauli has *na'a/woto* (*ñaRa/*bətaw) while the reciprocal, *ana wini//ana moni*, terms are like those of Savu *na'weni/na'mone*.

Critical differences in alliance relationships

The literature on eastern Indonesia emphasizes the importance of positive alliance relations among groups and the establishment, over generations, of relationships between wife-givers and wife-takers. Given this as one of the chief characteristics of the societies of eastern Indonesia, it is critical to note how such relationships contrast with all alliance relationships in western Austronesia. This is notable and definable in the terminologies of western and eastern Austronesia.

In western Austronesia, the category of “child’s spouse’s parent” defines a reciprocal relationship between parents whose children have married. In Malay/Indonesian, this is the *besan*-relationship. The following figure provides a diagrammatic representation of this CSpP relationship.

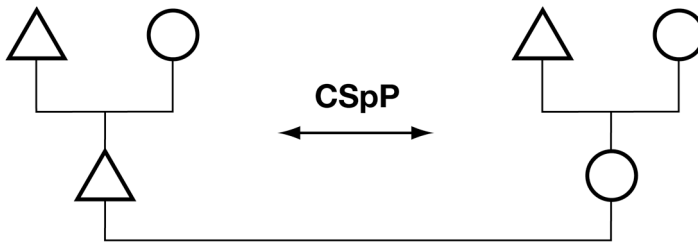


Figure VI – Child’s spouse’s parent relationship.

This categorical relationship is found in terminologies from Taiwan to Sumbawa. It occurs among some but not all of the Austronesian societies of Taiwan (Saalua, Puyuma, Pazeh and Yami) and among the Cham and Jarai of Vietnam. It is also reported among virtually all the societies of the Philippines, Borneo and Sulawesi, in most of Sumatra, and from Java to Sumbawa (Dou Donggo). However, it virtually ceases to occur beyond Sumbawa in eastern Indonesia, with the exception of the Buli of Halmahera and possibly also the Sobei of the north coast of New Guinea.

Table VII sets out the evidence for the distribution of this category overwhelmingly in the western Austronesian region. Although for presentation

here, I have abbreviated this list – the present data set has 85 instances of the CSpP category – this list still shows both the spread and diversity of the lexical terms used for CSpP.

SOCIETY	CSpP Term	Further Specification
TAIWAN		
PUYUMA	ali	CSpF
	anai	CSpM
SAALUA	ts'uts'uta	
PAZEH	lagi	
BATANIC (IVATAN)		
YAMI	kuakai	CSpF
	kabakus	CSpM
NORTHERN PHILIPPINES		
AGTA	kabalay	
BONTOK	aliwid	
DUMAGAT (Casiguran)	balaqi	
GA'DANG	kafalay	
ILOCANO	abalayan	
ISNEG	abalay	
KALINGA (S. Tanudan)	aboryan	
KANKANAY (Northern)	kaqising	
SAGADA IGOROT	kaising	
MESO-PHILIPPINES		
BUHID	balayi	
CEBUANO	balaqi	
PALAWAN	bajsan	
TAGALOG	belage	
TAGBANWA (Calamian)	balii	
TAUSUG	baqi	
SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES		
MANOBO (Ilianen)	belaqi	
SUBANUN	bela'i	
SOUTH MINDANAO		
TIRURAY	belaqi	
TBOLI	laqi	
SAMA-BAJAU		
BAJAU	ba'i	
YAKAN	baqi	

Table VII – Child Spouse's Parents (CSpP) Terms in Austronesian Languages.

SOCIETY	CSpP Term	Further Specification
MALAYO-CHAMIC		
ACEH	bisan	
CHAM	para	SWP
	parai	DHP
GUMAI	warang	CSpF
	besan	CSpM
IBAN	isan	
JARAI	rui	
LOM	bisén	
MALAY	besan	
SELAKO	imat	
SEMENDO	besan	
	kakak besan	SWP
	adik besan	DHP
NORTH/NORTHEAST BORNEO		
BENTIAN	sanget	
BUKAT	isan, avéʼ	
KEREHO UHENG	avé, sangé	
LUN DAYEK	arum	
TAMAN	isen	
LAND DAYAK (INLAND SOUTHWEST BORNEO)		
LAND DAYAK	dami	
EAST BARITO (SOUTH BORNEO)		
MA'ANYAN	bulau	
WEST BARITO		
NGAJU (Upper Mentaya)	sanger	
UUT DANUM	sangew	
TAMANIC (CENTRAL BORNEO)		
MALOH	isan	
LAMPUNG		
LAMPUNG	sabai	
MENGKALA	sabai	
NORTH WEST SUMATRA/BARRIER ISLANDS		
ALAS	bésan	
GAYO	umé	
NIAS	mbambato	
SAKKUDEI (Mentawai)	kaddei	

Table VII – Child Spouse’s Parents (CSpP) Terms in Austronesian Languages.

SOCIETY	CSpP Term	Further Specification
JAVA-BALI-LOMBOK		
JAVA	besan	
OLD JAVANESE	warang	
BALI	warang	
SASAK	warang	
SUNDA	warang	
CENTRAL SULAWESI: BUNGKU-MORI-TOLAKI		
TOLAKI	meoasa	
TORETE	baisano anangku	
CENTRAL SULAWESI: KAILI-PAMONA		
DA'A	sumbava	
CENTRAL SULAWESI: TOMINI		
PENDAU	poposialap	
MUNA-BUTON		
MUNA	samponi	
MORONENE	asamponi	
WOLIO	oera	
SOUTH SULAWESI		
BUGIS	baiseng	
MAKASSAR	de'nang	
SA'DAN TORAJA	baisen	
BIMA		
DOU DONGGO	vai	
HALMAHERA		
BULI	paing	
SARMI-JAYAPURA BAY		
SOBEI	penabi	

Table VII – Child Spouse's Parents (CSpP) Terms in Austronesian Languages.

Among these terms for CSpP, there appear to be a number of particular clusters. The most prominent of these is a cluster – *balaqi-belage-abalay* – that is found throughout the Philippines from north to south. The Pazeh of Taiwan have the term, *lagi*, for CSpP and this may possibly be cognate with terms in this Philippine cluster. This cluster also includes the Bajau, *ba'i*, which may be related, as well, to the Dou Donggo, *paing* and the Buli *vai*. The Bajau have had settlements for centuries on the coasts of Sumbawa and Halmahera.

The other prominent cluster – *besan-bisan-isana-kaising* – predominates

among Malayo-Chamic languages but occurs as well in Northern Luzon, Borneo, Java and southern Sulawesi. Malay or Malayic influences may have been responsible for some of this distribution. Old Javanese, for example, once had *warang* as the term for CSpP but several hundred years ago it borrowed *besan*, probably from Malay. The term *warang* identifies another cluster that occurs from southern Sumatra to Lombok.

Despite these several clusters, a notable feature of this category is the great variety of seemingly unrelated terms that define this category: *kuakai*, *kubagus*, *aliwid*, *para*, *ru*, *imat*, *avé*, *arum*, *sanger*, *sabai*, *umé*, *mbambato*, *kaddei*, *meoasa*, *baisano*, *sumbava*, *poposialap*, *samponi*, *oera*, and *de'nang*.⁸

The Sociological Significance of the CSpP Relationship

CSpP is a terminological designation adopted after marriage and therefore its sociological function stands in marked contrast with the relationship categories of those Austronesian kinship systems that promote or direct marriage to a particular category of relative. Rather than defining a positive rule of marriage, CSpP designates a post-facto relationship. It is a relationship that exists specifically between particular families. Thus, sociologically, there is a significant difference in the presence or absence of the relationship category. Its virtual disappearance in eastern Indonesia is one of a series of changes that occur in the terminologies of this region.⁹

In most societies that rely on the CSpP relationship, there is no significant,

8. Notably, in most of its occurrence, this category does not specify gender but there are exceptions to this general pattern. There are two patterned possibilities for this. The Puyuma, Yami and Gumai distinguish gender of the parents:

PUYUMA	ali	CSpF
	anai	CSpM
YAMI	kuakai	CSpF
	kabakus	CSpM
GUMAI	warang	CSpF
	besan	CSpM

The Gumai appear to reflect both former Javanese and Malay(ic) influence: they have *warang* for child's spouse's father and *besan* for child's spouse's mother. The Cham and the Semendo, on the other hand, distinguish according to the sex of the spouse:

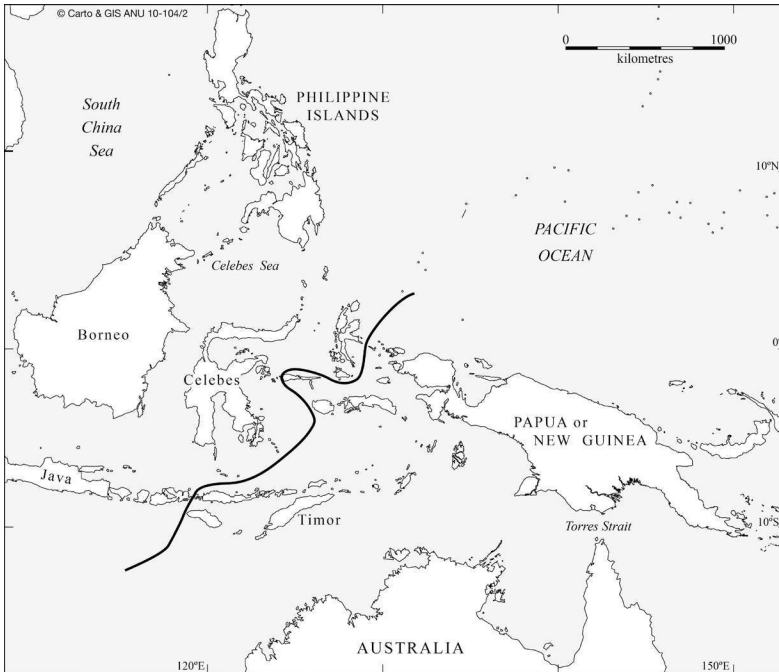
CHAM	para	SWP
	parai	DHP
SEMENDO	kakak besan	SWP
	dik besan	DHP

9. The CSpP term disappears even in those societies of eastern Indonesia that retain other terminological features similar to the majority of western Austronesian societies.

continuing differentiation between wife-givers and wife-takers. By contrast, in many eastern Indonesian societies, significant differentiation is made between wife-givers and wife-takers. Wife-takers refer to wife-givers with distinctive terms that both elevate and honour them and in some of these societies, this distinction is, as it were, built into the relationship terminology and maintained by positive rules that designate marriage with a particular category of relative. In societies where positive rules direct marriages in a regular and repeated fashion, the category of wife-giver is part of a set terminological configuration. Since the CSpP category is applied after marriage, it would be socially incompatible within a terminology where the categories of marriage relationship are prefigured within the terminology itself. Moreover the category is applied between related families and thus defines a more limited form of alliance than that between larger (lineage or clan) groups as in eastern Indonesia. It defines a relationship for each marriage separately. For parents with many children, it configures multiple different individual relationships.

Given its sociological importance, the presence or absence of the CSpP relationship category provides a clear demarcation of difference between western Austronesia and eastern Austronesia.

Besides distinguishing between the presence and absence of the Child's



Map 2 – The Child Spouse's Parents (CSpP) Line of Demarcation.

Parent’s Sibling relationship, this line of demarcation may be regarded with greater symbolic significance. To the east of this line is the region characterized by the occurrence of the Patterns III, IV or V which define relations in Ego’s generation. While these patterns are one of the defining characteristic of eastern Indonesia in relation to western Austronesia, two of these patterns are not confined to eastern Indonesia. They constitute some of the principal patterns that define terminological relationships in Ego’s generation in Oceania.

Sex-of-Speaker, Relative Age and Opposite Sex Sibling Distinctions in Oceania

When one turns to Oceania, there is great variability in sibling terms with both the presence and absence of relative age terms. Similar patterns to those in eastern Indonesia are discernible and, one could argue, significant. My purpose therefore is not to provide a comprehensive picture of the variety of these sibling terminologies but rather to show the prevalence of formal patterns like those that are most prominent in eastern Indonesia.

It is best to begin with Pattern IV: this pattern consists of relative age terms for same-sex siblings and a single reciprocal term for opposite-sex siblings. The pattern occurs predominantly in the Moluccan islands and on the coast of New Guinea. It could be called the “Near New Guinea” pattern because it is also found around the north coast of New Guinea and among the islands at the West Papua Tip extending to the Solomons and onward to Fiji.

Some illustrative examples of this pattern (Pattern IV) are as follows:
By contrast, Pattern III – the pattern of relative ages for same-sex siblings

SOCIETY	Sibling (Same-Sex) Elder/Younger	Sibling (Opposite Sex) One Term
NORTH NEW GUINEA		
WOGEO	toka/tei	lu
PAPUA TIP		
MOTU	kaka/tadi	taihu
MEKEO	a-/atsi	afakua
MUYUW	tuawa-/bwada-	na-t
TROBRIANDS	tuwa-/bwada-	lu-ta
N.W. SOLOMONIC		
VARISI	togana/kaena	vavanina
S.E. SOLOMONIC		
BAEGU	sauana/sasina	waiwane
CENTRAL PACIFIC		
FIJI (BAU)	tuaka-ngu/taci-qu	gane-ngu

Table VIII – Pattern IV.

and parallel cousins with two terms for opposite sex siblings – is even more notable and wide-spread in further Oceania. It extends from Manus and Tanna out into the Pacific where it is particularly evident.¹⁰ A few examples of this pattern are as follows:

SOCIETY	Sibling (Same-Sex) Elder/Younger	Sibling (Opposite Sex): Two Terms	
		Brother (w.s)	Sister (m.s.)
ADMIRALTIES			
BALUAN	toung/naing	mwaning	patning
SOUTH VANUATU			
KWAMERA	prea-/prisi-	pumani	pini
CENTRAL PACIFIC			
TONGA	taokete/tehina	tuongaane	tuofefine
ROTUMA	sasigi/sasiga	sagavävāne	saghani
HAWAII	kaikua`ana/kaikaina	kaikunane	kaihuahine
RANGIROA	tua`ana/teina	tu`ane	tu`ane
MAORI	tuakana/teina	tungane	tuahine

Table IX – Pattern III.

Jeff Marck, who has carried out the most exhaustive examination of Polynesian terminologies, has noted that this “is the system in the great majority of historic Polynesian societies” (1996: 229).¹¹

The distribution of Patterns III and IV covering an area from eastern Indonesia to the central Pacific gives evidence of considerable stability. The distinctive distribution of these patterns in relation to one another also suggests that each pattern has considerable historical continuity.¹²

10. In 1938, Wilhelm Milke was the first to recognize the existence of Pattern III in Oceania. He described this pattern as “an ancient Melanesian sibling terminology” (urmelanesische Geschwisterterminologie: UMN) and noted that this “ancient Melanesian sibling terminology” was preserved primarily in the Admiralties and in Polynesia. He contrasted this UMN with what he called an UAN: “an ancient Austronesian sibling terminology” (uraustronesische Geschwisterterminologie), i.e. Pattern I.

11. Following Clark (1975), Marck (1996) argues convincingly for a semantic simplification of this pattern as in various other parts of Polynesia either by the replacement of one of these original four terms or by an elimination of semantic distinctions. In this way, he wishes to account for other historical variants on this pattern. Ross Clark (1984:628) has pointed out in his comments on Marshall that Marshall’s four-term Polynesian terminological configuration, in many instances, has similar cognate forms reflecting Proto-Oceania: *tuqaka elder (same sex), *tansi younger (same sex), *ŋmaqane m (f.s.) and *papine f (m.s.). See Fn 6 and Table VI, for some of the relevant comparisons for eastern Indonesia. From a comparative linguistic perspective, these relative age (elder/younger terms – same sex) terms in Oceania may resemble cognate forms in the Philippines but such terms do not have the same semantic sense. Elder and younger terms in western Austronesia are applied between both sexes.

12. Mac Marshall’s “Structural Patterns of Sibling Classification in Island Oceania” (1984) is a valiant and still valuable attempt at a total (evolutionary) classification of sibling terms in Oceania. It floundered on an array of linguistic misinterpretations and limitations, but Marshall defended the paper’s shortcomings by claiming that his chief concern was to present the “formal

As for Pattern V – the pattern without relative age terms which is found on the island of Sumba – there is no evidence that it has been ‘carried over’ into Oceania. As presented, Pattern V shows structural resemblance to Pattern III: two separate terms for same-sex siblings and another two terms for opposite-sex siblings. By contrast, in parts of Oceania, a prominent pattern for terminologies without relative age consists simply of two terms – with each term marked by sex-of-speaker distinction.¹³

This pattern can be seen in Figure VII. It resembles Figure V, which applies to Sumba in eastern Indonesia. The pattern lacks relative age terms as is the case on Sumba but instead of two terms for the opposite sex as in Sumba, it consists of a single reciprocal term used between members of the opposite sex.

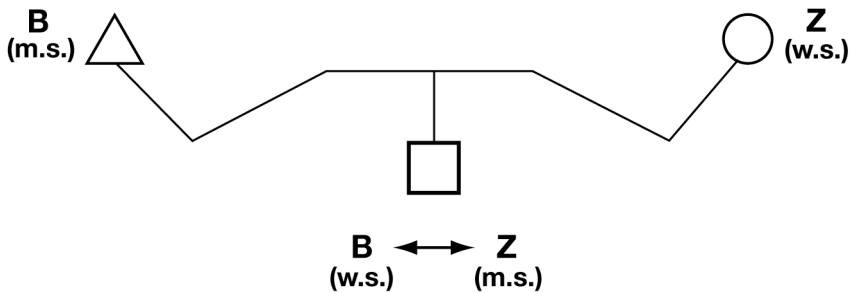


Figure VII – Oceania:
Three Term Pattern of Same Sex/Opposite Sex Relations Without Relative Age.

typological patterns of sibling classification” independent of their lexical representation. The empirical evidence he assembled for his paper is considerable. In Marshall’s schema, Pattern III of this paper is his “Type 10” and Pattern IV is his “Type 6.” Marshall labels Type 6 as “Core Melanesia” and “Type 10” as “Core Polynesia” (1984: 605). These are two most common sibling types in Oceania. As I have tried to show in this paper, they are also the two most common terminological patterns for relative age and siblings in eastern Indonesia.

13. Over thirty years after his 1938 paper on sibling terminologies in Oceania, as part of an argument for a “New Guinea cluster” of languages within Oceanic, Milke (1965:345) noted the distribution of a single “cross-sibling” term reflecting *lobu or *libu’ among a range of these so-called “New Guinea cluster” languages extending the entire length of the north coast of Papua New Guinea including many off-shore islands as far as the Siassi Islands of northwest New Britain and of Vitu (see Ann Chowning 1984:628). In fact Milke’s observations merge the evidence for opposite-sex sibling terms that occur in Pattern IV (cited in Table VIII) with the evidence for opposite sibling terms as indicated in the terminological pattern shown in Table X. Compare the Wogeo and Trobriands terms in Table VIII with the terms from the Takia, Basima, Dobu and Tube-Tube in Table X. There is clearly a relationship between these two configurations.

Table X provides examples of this basic arrangement:

SOCIETY	SAME-SEX B, (MZS FBS) (m.s.) Z, (MZD FBD) (w.s.)	OPPOSITE-SEX Two B, (MZS FBS) (w.s.) Z, (MZD FBD) (m.s.)
NORTH NEW GUINEA		
TAKIA	tei	lu-
PAPUAN TIP		
BASIMA	sia-	nu-
DOBU	tasi	nu'u
TUBE-TUBE	kakava	du
S.E. SALOMONIC		
AROSI	doora	haho
MONO-ALU	kai	fafine
WEST NEW BRITAIN		
VITU	tazi-gu	livuku-gu
NEW IRELAND		
LELET	netak, paton	minmin
CENTAL PACIFIC		
TIKOPIA	taina	kave
GILBERT ISLANDS	tari	mane

Table X

This wide-spread arrangement of same-sex//opposite sex relationships is distinctive to Oceania and constitutes as important a pattern of relationship as either Pattern III or IV.

Comment and Conclusions

This paper has examined several critical terminological features that differentiate the societies of eastern Indonesia from the societies of western Austronesia and link these societies on the basis of similar terminological features with societies in Oceania. The principal evidence for these differences can be seen in relative age and sibling terminologies but include as well the way in which marriages are systematically defined on a *post-hoc* basis in western Austronesia compared to the broad tendency toward terminologically “directed” marriage in eastern Indonesia. This paper has also looked at the variation in terminological patterning that occurs in eastern Indonesia and how this pattern “carries on” into Oceania. The two most prominent terminological patterns for relative age and opposite-sex siblings are found in eastern Indonesia as well as in Oceania. However, as in eastern Indonesia, there are other patterned variations in Oceania. To illustrate this point, this paper has also identified a particular terminological variation in sibling relations (same-sex/opposite-sex) that is distinctive to Oceania.

All of this discussion offers a partial glimpse of the significant variation in the terminologies of the Austronesian-speaking world. Its purpose was to provide a focus on eastern Indonesia. By this same token, this examination ought not to be given overdue significance. It forms a part of a larger perspective which is the focus of my comprehensive monograph, *Regional Variation in Austronesian Terminologies*.

From the time of Morgan and the beginning of the study of kinship, a distinction has been made between consanguinity and affinity. This paper has, in effect, discussed a few features of difference in consanguinity (confined to Ego's generation) in Austronesian terminologies. From a wider perspective, however, most of the variation and differentiation that occurs in Austronesian terminologies is to be found in their affinal dimensions. An appropriate perspective for the comparative study of these terminologies must thus focus on Austronesian relationships of affinity.¹⁴

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14. I would like to acknowledge the valuable advice of my colleague and friend, Dr Charles Grimes, who has, for many years, kept me informed of continuing developments in eastern Indonesian linguistics (see Grimes 1991, 2000, 2010). I would also like to thank Jennifer Sheehan for the figures in this paper (and many more in the *Regional Variation* volume).

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